

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7037
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 7509

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, NL, CH, PL
SUBJECT: DUTCH REPORTON POLISH-SOVIET-PRC RELATIONS

REF: THE HAGUE 4719

1. I HAVE THE HIGHEST RESPECT FOR MY LIVELY DUTCH COLLEAGUE.
HOWEVER, HE DOES HAVE A TENDENCY TO OVERANALYZE AND SOME-
TIMES TO ATTACH TOO GREAT IMPORTANCE TO WHAT HE IS TOLD
OFFICIALLY OR UNOFFICIALLY. ONE WHO SEEKS GREAT SIGNIFI-
CANCE EVEN IN SMALL THINGS IS LIKELY TO FIND IT.

2. DUTCH AMB ALTES DISCUSSED CONVERSATION REPORTED PARA 6
REFTEL WITH ITALIAN AMB PROFILI AND ME LAST WEEK.
ACTUALLY, CZYREK'S WARNING ABOUT PLAYING THE "CHINESE CARD"
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HAS BEEN REITERATED IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH POLISH
OFFICIALDOM FREQUENTLY IN THE PAST, ESPECIALLY
SINCE BRZEZINSKI'S TRIP TO CHINA. AND HUA'S TRIP
TO BUCHAREST AND BELGRADE HAS RAISED THE ANTI-
CHINESE DECIBEL COUNT IN THE POLISH MEDIA TO A NEW
HIGH.

3. I FIND IT NOT AT ALL SURPRISING THAT A POLISH OFFICIAL, WITH OR WITHOUT HIS COLLEAGUES BEING PRESENT, TELLS A WESTERN AMBASSADOR THAT PARTICULAR WESTERN POLICY WILL STRENGTH THE MOSCOW HARD-LINERS, AND THUS REDUCE POLISH MANEUVERABILITY AND SLOW THE COURSE OF POLISH LIBERATION.

4. ONE SHOULD NOT INFER THAT OUR POLISH INTERLOCUTORS ARE COMPLETELY WRONG, ONLY THAT THIS APPROACH IS PRE-DICTABLE AND SHOULD BE VIEWED WITH A CRITICAL EYE. THEY LIKE TO GET US COMING AND GOING. SHOULD WE GET TOO CLOSE TO POLAND THE MOSCOW HARD-LINERS WOULD START TIGHTENING THE REINS. THEY WOULD DO THE SAME WHEN DETENTE FALTERS OR WE IMPROVE OUR OWN RELATIONS WITH CHINA, EVEN IF SUCH DEVELOPMENTS HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH POLAND. WE ACCEPT THE REALITY WHICH IMPOSES LIMITS ON POLISH POLITICAL MANEUVERABILITY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION, BUT TEND TO BELIEVE THE POLES INVOKE THIS ARGUMENT TO SUIT THE PURPOSES OF THE DAY, WHATEVER THEY MAY BE.

5. ACTUALLY, MY TENTATIVE REACTION IS THAT CZYREK'S REMARKS SHOULD BE VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH THE INCREASED EMPHASIS ON POLISH-SOVIET COOPERATION AND PERHAPS GREATER POLISH ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE, EVEN IF IT IS TRANSITORY, ON ITS EASTERN NEIGHBOR. THE GOP
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AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN ITS ECONOMIC AND, PERHAPS, POLITICAL FORTUNES HAS BECOME NOTICEABLY MORE PRO-SOVIET IN PUBLIC. THE--TO MANY POLES--UNSEEMLY HULLABALLOO OVER THE JOINT SPACE VENTURE, THE UBIQUITOUS TEAMS OF SOVIETS CRISS-CROSSING THE COUNTRY, THE JOINT GIEREK-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE CONDEMNING AS BLACK-MAIL THE US USE OF FOREIGN COMMERCE, AND THE SUPPORT FOR SOVIET ATTACKS ON CHINA ARE ALL DEVELOPMENTS WHICH REFLECT A CLOSER CONVERGENCE OF OFFICIAL POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS.

6. THE DECISION WHETHER OR NOT "TO PLAY THE CHINESE CARD," A TERM WHICH OVERSIMPLIFIES THE OPTIONS OPEN TO THE WEST, CARRIES RISKS, LIKE MANY DECISIONS. HOW IT WOULD AFFECT THE WEST'S RELATIONS WITH POLAND OBVIOUSLY HAS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BUT, IT SEEMS TO ME, THAT CONSIDERATION IS ONLY ONE COMPONENT--AND A SMALL ONE--OF A COMPLEX SUBJECT.

7. ON A LOCAL NOTE REGARDING THE CHINESE, I HAVE NOT YET CALLED ON MY PRC COLLEAGUE WHO ONLY RETURNED FROM HOME LEAVE RECENTLY. WE HAD INDICATED MY DESIRE

TO DO SO, BUT THE CHINESE SEEMED IN NO HURRY.
SUDDENLY, LAST WEEK, THEY SUGGESTED SUCH A CALL.
SINCE IT WAS OBVIOUSLY TIMED FOR HUA'S ARRIVAL IN
EASTERN EUROPE I HAVE PUT OFF A CALL UNTIL NEXT
WEEK SO AS NOT NEEDLESSLY TO DRAW ATTENTION TO IT
HERE.
SCHAUFELLE

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